Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL POSS DUPE

PAGE 01 NAIROB 02209 01 OF 02 051500Z

43
ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 ISO-00 AID-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 CU-02 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 OPIC-03 EUR-12

/093 W
---------- 013272
R 051345Z MAR 76
FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8170
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NAIROBI 2209

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PORG, KE
SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: INFORMATION ON KENYA

REF: STATE 037591

1. SUMMARY: KENYA'S POSITION ON ANY GIVEN MULTILATERAL ISSUE DERIVES FROM ITS GENERAL WORLD-VIEW, A SPECIFIC DECISION ON THE ISSUE IN QUESTION, AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THAT DECISION BY FOREIGN AFFAIRS MACHINERY AND REPS ABROAD. U.S. OR OTHER FOREIGN INPUT CAN HAVE SOME IN-FLUENCE ON EACH OF FOREGOING FACTORS, BUT OUTCOME IS OFTEN UNRELATED TO EXTERNAL EFFORTS, WHATEVER THEIR INTENSITY OR TACTICS MAY BE. IN MOST CIRCUMSTANCES, ATTEMPT TO PLACE MULTILATERAL ISSUED IN BILATERAL CON-TEXT RAISES KENYAN HACKLES AND RISKS BACKLASH AT ALLEGED "INTIMIDATION" OF SMALL, POOR COUNTRY BY BIG RICH ONE. END SUMMARY.

2. KENYA'S OBJECTIVES: GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF NON-
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NAIROB 02209 01 OF 02 051500Z

ALIGNMENT SHAPE KENYA'S INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES IN MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS. IN PRACTICE THIS OFTEN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

MEANS KENYA ABSTAINS ON CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES, SINCE IT HAS NO WISH TO OFFEND MAJOR POWERS AND AT SAME TIME WISHES TO AVOID BEING OUT OF TUNE WITH THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES MORE RADICAL THAN ITSELF. IF, HOWEVER, KENYA PERCEIVES A STRONG INTEREST OF ITS OWN, IT HAS SHOWN ITSELF READY TO ADVOCATE THAT INTEREST FORCEFULLY. CASE IN POINT IS KENYA'S STANCE ON ANGOLA IN OAU, WHERE KENYA DEFINED ITS INTEREST AS URGING ADHERENCE TO NATIONAL UNITY FORMULA REACHED UNDER PRESIDENT KENYATTA'S AUSPICES BY THREE FACTIONS MEETING AT NAKURU AND MOMBASA BEFORE INDEPENDENCE.

3. WHILE KENYA'S INTEREST IN QUESTIONS OF STATUS (SUCH AS KOREA) IS FOR THE MOST PART SECONDARY, GOK DOES DISPLAY STRONG SUBSTANTIVE CONCERN ABOUT STATUS ISSUES INVOLVING DECOLONIZATION. IT ALSO CARES ABOUT ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE INVOLVING ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF TERRITORY, MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, ETC. KENYA'S RECENT EXCHANGES OF POLEMICS WITH SOMALIA AND UGANDA WITH REGARD TO IRREDENTIST CLAIMS ON KENYAN TERRITORY WILL GIVE KENYA AN INCENTIVE TO DEFEND PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY IN INSTANCES WHERE THE ISSUE IS CLEARLY DRAWN IN THOSE TERMS.

4. KENYA IN 1976 WILL HOST TWO MAJOR INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS--FOURT UNCTAD IN MAY AND NINETEENTH UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE IN NOVEMBER. IN ADDITION, UNEP WILL HOLD ANNUAL GOVERNING COUNCIL DURING APRIL IN NAIROBI, SITE OF UNEP'S WORLD HEADQUARTERS. KENYAN TENDENCY TO AVOID EXTREME POSITION ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES IN MULTILATERAL BODIES WILL BE REINFORCED BY ITS ROLE AS HOST FOR THESE MEETINGS AND DESIRE TO ATTRACT ADDITIONAL ONES. IN THE CASE OF UNESCO, AT LEAST, KENYA IS SOLICITING INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO DEFRAYEXTRAORDINARY EXPENSES OF HOLDING GC OUTSIDE PARIS; U.S. HAS DECLINED TO MAKE VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTION FOR THIS PURPOSE.

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NAIROB 02209 01 OF 02 051500Z

5. IN 1975 KENYA SPONSORED CANDIDATE (UNSUCCESSFULLY) FOR VACANCY ON ICJ; U.S. SUPPORTED NIGERIAN RATHER THAN KENYAN. WE ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY KENYAN CANDIDATES FOR MAJOR INTERNATIONAL POST IN 1976.

6. EXTERNAL INFLUENCE: EXCEPT IN CASES WHERE A STRONG KENYAN INTEREST IS AT STAKE, KENYA ENDEAVORS TO VOTE WITH THE OAU MAJORITY. EVEN IN CASES WHEREOAU OR ITS NEW YORK CAUCUS HAS NOT TAKEN FORMAL POSITION, KENYA TRIES TO STAY WITH THE PACK. IN PAST YEAR, NEW FOREIGN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

MINISTER HAS SHOWN SENSITIVITY TO OPINION OF OTHER AFRICANS WHO DISDAIN KENYA'S PAST MILTILATERAL RECORD AS PRO-BRITISH, OR AT BEST AS TAILING BEHIND THE AFRICAN MAJORITY ON MAJOR ISSUES. WHERE THERE I CLEAR-CUT DISAGREEMENT AMONG AFRICANS, KENYA HAS STAYED WITH THE MODERATES ON MOST ISSUES, E.G. ZIONISM-RACISM. IF THERE IS A SINGLE COUNTRY KENYA LISTEMS MOST ATTENTIVELY TO, IT IS ZAMBIA. ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, UK AND EC AS WELL AS U.S. HAVE SOME INFLUENCE WITHIN NARROW LIMITS. KENYA RARELY ATTEMPTS TO INFLUENCE VOTES OF OTHER COUNTRIES; WE CANNOT RECALL AN INSTANCE WHERE OUR VOTE HAS BEEN SOLICITED EXCEPT FOR ICJ CANDIDATE MENTIONED ABOVE.

7. INSTRUCTIONS TO DELEGATIONS: KENYA INSTRUCTS ITS DELEGATES TO UNGA AND OTHER BODIES IN TWO WAYS. FIRST, AN EFFORT IS MADE TO DECIDE POSITION ON MAJOR ANTICI-PATED ISSUES BEFORE DEPARTURE OF DELEGATION. SINCE DELEGATIONS ARE OFTEN PUT TOGETHER AT LAST MINUTE, THIS IS SOMEWHAT HAPHAZARD PROCESS, BUT KENYAN OFFICIALS DO SEEK GUIDANCE FROM PRESIDENT KENYATTA IN ADVANCE OF MAJOR MEETINGS. SECOND, MFA MAY SEND INSTRUCTIONS TO DELEGATIONS DURING SESSIONS, EITHER BY CABLE OR TELEPHONE. INEVITABLY, INSTRUCTIONS DURING SESSIONS TEND TO BE ONE OR TWO STEPS BEHIND THE STATE OF PLAY, A SITUATION EXACERBATED BY APPARENT TENDENCY OF KENYAN DELEGATES (THIS APPLIES MAINLY TO UNGA) NOT TO SEEK ADDITIONAL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NAIROB 02209 02 OF 02 051456Z

43
ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 ISO-00 AID-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 CU-02 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 OPIC-03 EUR-12

/093 W

---------- 013185

R 051345Z MAR 76
FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8171
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NAIROBI 2209

INSTRUCTIONS OR EVEN REPORT DEVELOPMENTS UNTIL VOTING IS ALL OVER. THUS GOK HAS EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER DELEGATIONS ONLY IN CASE OF HEAVILY DEBATED MAJOR QUESTIONS WHERE THE ISSUE IS CLEARLY DRAWN WELL BEFORE VOTE. PLENARY VOTES ON ZIONISM-RACISM AND KOREA QUALIFIED AS SUCH MAJOR QUESTION IN 1975 UNGA; COMMITTEE VOTE ON KOREAN INSCRIPTION AND PLENARY CONSIDERATION OF GUAM DID NOT. IN 1974, CAMBODIAN QUESTION WAS AN EXAMPLE OF QUESTION WHERE KENYA REP APPARENTLY DECIDED TO FOLLOW HIS OWN VIEWS RATHER THAN INSTRUCTIONS FROM NAIROBI, AND THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT HE SUFFERED FROM IT.

8. POLITICAL BASE OF PERMREPS: KENYA'S PERMREP IN NEW YORK OR HEADS OF DELEGATIONS ELSEWHERE DO NOT ENJOY INDEPENDENT POWER BASE AT HOME, NOR ARE THEY ABROAD AS POLITICAL OUTCASTS. TRIBAL AFFINITIES MAY GIVE THEM CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION TO NAIROBI WHICH BYPASS MFA, HOWEVER. FOR PERIODS WHEN KENYA DEL IS HEADED BY FOREIGN MINISTER WAIYAKI OR FINANCE MINISTER
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NAIROB 02209 02 OF 02 051456Z

KIBAKI, THERE IS STRONG TENDENCY TO OPERATE INDEPENDENTLY OF ANY GUIDANCE FROM NAIROBI. ONLY SURE-FIRE CONTROL OVER GOVERNMENT MINISTERS ABROAD IS PERSONAL ORDER FROM PRESIDENT KENYATTA, WHO TENDS TO BE IMPATIENT WITH FOREIGN LOBBYING IN MULTILATERLA ISSUES AND GIVES GREAT LEEWAY TO MINISTERS EXCEPT ON ISSUES THAT EFFECT HIS OWN OR KENYA'S VITAL INTERESTS.

9. RECEPTIVITY TO U.S.: WE HAVE RECEIVED POLITE AND USUALLY PROMPT RECEPTION BY KENYAN OFFICIALS AT ALL LEVELS WHEN WE HAVE ASKED TO BE HEARD ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES. MOST KEY MFA OFFICIALS HAVE NEW YORK EXPERIENCE. SO LONG AS OUR APPROACK IS BASED ON MERITS OF ISSUE, KENYANS ARE WILLING TO LISTEN AND TO CONSIDER SUPPORTING US; THEY ALSO RAISE QUESTIONS WHICH ARE LOGICALLY AND EFFECTIVELY ARTICULATED. GOING BEYOND MERITS OF ANY GIVEN ISSUE, GOK HAS SHOWN SOME RECOGNITION OF LINK BETWEEN BILATERAL RELATIONS AND MULTILATERAL POSITION BY INDICATING ON OCCASION THAT IT WOULD ATTEMPT TO ACCOMMODATE US SIMPLY BECUASE WE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

ATTACK GREAT IMPORTANCE TO ISSUE. HOWEVER, ANY HINT THAT THERE IS LIKELY TO BE A BILATERAL PENALTY FOR FAILURE TO SUPPORT US AROUSES GREAT RESENTMENT, SINCE THIS IS INTERPRETED AS INJURIOUS TO KENYA'S SOVEREIGNTY AND DIGNITY. AS STATED ABOVE, KENYA RARELY ATTEMPTS TO INFLUENCE OUR POSITION, BUT EVEN IF IT DID, THE UNEQUAL POWER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WOULD PUT SUCH EFFORTS IN VERY DIFFERENT LIGHT FROM U.S. PRESSURES ON KENYA.

10. EFFECTIVENESS OF U.S. LOBBYING ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES IN KENYA IS UNLIKELY TO BE IMPROVED BY FLEXING BILATERAL MUSCLES, BUT CAN BE ENCHANCED BY PATIENT EFFORTS TO REACH KEY ACTORS AT ALL THREE STAGES OF DECISIONMAKING PROCESS--BEFORE IMPORTANT MULTILATERAL MEETINGS, IN NAIROBI DURING MEETING, AND ON SITE WITH KENYAN REPS. HOWEVER, CONSTRAINSTS ON KENYA'S WILLING-NESS TO SUPPORT US CANNOT BE CLEARED AWAY EITHER BY VERBAL SUASION OR REALPOLITIK SANCTIONS; PROMINENT AMONG THESE CONSTRAINSTS ARE KENYA'S DEEPLY-HELD CON-VICTIONS ABOUT INJUSTICES OF COLONIALISM AND MINORITY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NAIROB 02209 02 OF 02 051456Z

RULE IN SOUTHER AFRICA, ITS FELT NEED NOT TO BE OUT OF STEP WITH OAU CONSENSUS, ITS INTERPRETATION OF NON-ALIGNMENT AS A FORMULA FOR AVOIDING INVOLVEMENT IN SUPER-POWER DISPUTES, AND ITS INDENTIFICATION WITH THE LDC'S ECONOMICALLY (ALBEIT WITHOUT SOME OF THE MARXIST RHETORIC USED BY MORE MILITANT ONES).
MARSHALL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, RELATIONS WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGS, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 05 MAR 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976NAIROB02209
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: TEXT ON MICROFILM
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P760054-1091, D760084-0985
From: NAIROBI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760390/aaaadbuj.tel
Line Count: 257
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 STATE 37591
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <19 APR 2004 by ElyME>; APPROVED <20 APR 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: INFORMATION ON KENYA
TAGS: PFOR, PORG, KE, XX
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006